

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1817.

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NOTICE.

All the *back numbers* of the Cheap Register are now *re-printed in the pamphlet form*—It has at the request of many persons, been determined to publish *Paper against Gold in Numbers*, instead of a whole book, and to collect the Numbers into a book at last.—This will, therefore, be done; and, as there will now be *an addition* to it, the thing shall be so contrived, that those who have already purchased the work in two volumes, may purchase the addition separate to be added to those Volumes.—The Numbers will be *two-pence each*, and the first will be published on Saturday, the 22nd of this month.—There will be about 17 Numbers; so that the whole work will not exceed in price 2s. 10d. or thereabouts.

A LETTER

TO THE

LIFE-AND FORTUNE MEN.

Meeting on Portsdown.—Misery and not Reform the cause of Riots.—Funding System the cause of Misery.—Dreadful state of Islington, Coventry, &c.—Poor Dugood's Petition.—Mr. Hunt's Petition.—Mr. Hunt's Letter to Lord Sidmouth.

London, February, 5th, 1817.

LIFE-AND-FORTUNE MEN,

Being rather in haste to set off to a Meeting on Portsdown Hill, which is to be held on Monday next, you will have, I hope, the goodness to excuse me, if I am not quite so ceremonious as your correspondents generally are.

I have read, and the people have read, not with indignation, for no effort of your venom is now capable of exciting a feeling of so high an order;

but we have read, with scorn and contempt, the attack, on the Parliamentary Reformers, contained in your *Declaration*, issued by a Meeting of you at the London Tavern on the 31st of last month, which meeting is stated to have consisted of *Bankers, Merchants, Traders* and others, and, amongst the names of the persons signing which Declaration are several of those who have the management of the affairs of the Bank of England. I shall presently speak more particularly of the terms and assertions of that Declaration; but, first, it is impossible to refrain from remarking, that most of you were amongst the *Addressers* of 1793, who then urged the government on to that war, of the expences and the debts of which this nation is now tasting the bitter, the poisonous, the destructive fruit. You are, in fact, *the same body of men*, the chasms made by time having been filled up as they occurred. Curious this fact is to contemplate! What! at the end of twenty five years of war and glory against Republicans and Levellers, do you find it necessary to come forth again! Again, after more than a thousand millions have been expended in taxes and nearly another thousand millions of Debt have been contracted for the purpose of preserving what you call the Constitution! Again, after the Bourbons and the Inquisition and the Pope and the Jesuits have been restored, after all the Republics of Europe have been destroyed, and after a holy alliance has been solemnly concluded between all the principal sovereigns! Again, after such volumes of congratulation on the triumph of social order, after all the ox-roasting and temple-building in commemoration of that glorious triumph, and after we have been told, that "the *play being over* we may now

"sit down to supper!" After all this, do we behold you sallying forth again with your imputations against Parliamentary Reformers, and with your promises and vows to assist in keeping them down? But, before I proceed to comment on your Declaration, let me first insert it, that the world may hear you as well as me.

The place of your meeting is not unworthy of notice. "The London Tavern." Why in a house? why in a hired room, if you meant that your Declaration should carry any weight with it as expressing any thing like a public sentiment? It was at this same London Tavern, that the famous position of "a sudden transition from war to peace" was blown to air by LORD COCHRANE, and which position is now scouted by the Members of both Houses of Parliament without the smallest degree of ceremony or reserve. The London Tavern was no place to hold a meeting of the People of London, and the place of meeting shows that it was judicious in you not to imitate the language of the Manchester Declarers, who insist, that they speak the voice of "the great body," or great majority, of his Majesty's subjects."

Your Declaration, after the introductory verbiage, is in the following words:—"We, the undersigned Merchants, Bankers, Traders, and Inhabitants of London, deem it to be incumbent on us to come forward with a Declaration of our sentiments on the present crisis of public affairs.—We are far from being insensible to the evils which at present affect every class of the community, more especially the lower orders; we are anxiously desirous that every practicable means may be used for alleviating their distresses; and we entertain a sanguine hope, that the embarrassments with which we have to struggle, will, by the exercise of a wise and enlightened policy, be overcome; and that the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the country, will at no distant period revive and flourish. We are satisfied at the same time,

that nothing can tend more to retard the accomplishment of our wishes and hopes, than the endeavours which have recently been exerted with too much success, by designing and evil-minded men, to persuade the people that a remedy is to be found in measures which under specious pretences, would effect the overthrow of the Constitution. To these endeavours may be traced the criminal excesses which have lately disgraced the Metropolis and other parts of the Empire; and the still more desperate and atrocious outrage which has recently been committed against the sacred person of the Prince Regent, on his return from opening Parliament, in the exercise of the functions of our revered Monarch. We cannot adequately express our abhorrence of these enormities, which, if not repressed, must lead to scenes of anarchy and bloodshed, too appalling to contemplate; and we feel it to be a solemn and imperious duty we owe to our country, to pledge ourselves individually and collectively, to support the just exercise of the authority of Government, to maintain the Constitution as by law established, and to resist every attempt, whether of craft or violence, that may be directed against our civil liberty and our social peace."

Now, you will hardly be so hypocritical and so cowardly as to pretend, that you do not mean the Parliamentary Reformers, when you speak of "designing and evil-minded men," and that you wish to cause it to be believed (as if any body would, or could believe you!) that the "late riots in London, and other parts of the Empire, and even the attack upon the Regent are to be traced to the endeavours" of the Reformers. Great as may be the hypocrisy of which you are masters, you will hardly attempt to deny, that this is the meaning of your words. And, this being their meaning, was there ever a more audacious falsehood published to the world?

First, as to the "criminal excesses,"

committed in other parts of the "*Empire*," who told you, that this was "*an Empire*?" Where did you pick up that new-fangled slang? To what half-foreign jargon-monger have you been to school? This is a kingdom, that is to say, a commonwealth, a political mixed government, having a king for its chief. We acknowledge no *imperial* sway, and, in spite of your jargon, you may be sure, that we never shall; for before we do that, we must burn all our laws and all our law books, and forswear all the notions of our forefathers, which we shall not do, in order to follow the example of a set of dealers in paper-money, whose traffic, as we shall by-and-by see, has been one of the great causes of our ruin.

But, not to criticise further, where censure and condemnation are so loudly called for, what proof have you, that "*criminal excesses*" out of London can be traced to the *Reformers*? Where have these excesses been committed? In the *Isle of E'y*; in *Suffolk*; in *Wales*; at *Dundee*. That is all, I believe; and, you *know well*, that, in neither of those places has there been any meeting for Reform. In all those places some misguided and suffering people have made attacks upon threshing machines, or have assembled to demand a rise of wages, or have seized on food in bakers' and other shops; but, in no one of those cases has there been, amongst the people so assembling, any talk even about Reform. Some of the unhappy creatures have *suffered death* for their "*criminal excesses*;" their confessions or pretended confessions, have been published to the world; and, in those confessions not one word to be found about the influence of reformers on their minds.

Then as to the riot in London, which was really very criminal, you so *well know*, that Reform and Reformers had nothing to do with the matter. The WATSONS, though persons, until that day, of excellent character, appear to have adopted the *Spencean principles*, which, without troubling myself about them here,

are well known as having nothing to do with Parliamentary Reform, whatever any base and malignant and profligately corrupt man may say to the contrary. Nay, so clear is this fact, that Mr. HUNT, who came up the first time to Spa-fields upon the invitation of the Spenceans, without knowing any thing of their projects, *threw aside* the Memorial that *they* had prepared, and proposed a petition for Reform and relief, which was laid before the Prince by Lord Sidmouth, and which was soon after followed by a donation, or grant, of five thousand pounds, by the Prince, and by that large Soup-subscription in the city, which appears never to have been so much as thought of before. It was *then*, and *not till then*, that a Meeting took place at the Mansion-House; that so piteous a picture of the state of the Poor of Spital-fields was exhibited to the public; *then* Mr. Buxton was extremely eloquent, but, *until then*, he was silent upon the subject. So that, though I call not in question the motives of any of the individuals engaged in promoting that subscription, but, on the contrary, do most sincerely commend those motives, I say, and I shall always say, that the subscription and all the relief it has afforded, are to be ascribed to Mr. HUNT more than to any other person. The example of the Prince Regent had, doubtless, a great effect on the subscribers, and I am willing to give it its full due; but, it was Mr. HUNT who was the cause of the deep distresses of the people being **MADE KNOWN** to his Royal Highness, who, had it not been for the Petition from Spa-fields, would, probably, never have heard of them.

Well, but there have been persons seized, and papers seized upon those who were accused of a *plot* upon that occasion. And, even letters from Mr. HUNT have been seized. They have, however, never been *published* nor ever brought forward upon any trial. The fact is, they contained no proof of any wish to produce unlawful acts, but, I dare say, precisely the contrary. The rioters have been *tried*;

all the evidence has been produced against them; but not one word about *Parliamentary Reform*. There have, however, been words enough about *distress and misery*, and, some of these words you shall now have from the lips of the poor unfortunate CASHMAN, when he was asked "why sentence of death should not be passed upon him?"—These are those memorable words: "MY LORD,—I hope you will excuse a poor friendless sailor for occupying your time. Had I died fighting the battles of my country I should have gloried in it; but I confess that it grieves me to think of suffering like a robber, when I can call God to witness that *I have passed days together without even a morsel of bread rather than violate the laws*. I have served my King for many years, and often fought for my country. I have received *nine wounds in the service*, and never before have been charged with any offence. I have been at sea *all my life*, and my *Father was killed on board the Diana frigate*. I came to London, my Lord, to endeavour to recover my pay and prize-money, but being unsuccessful, I was reduced to the greatest distress, and being poor and penniless, I have not been able to bring forward witnesses to prove my innocence, nor even to acquaint my brave officers, or I am sure they would all have come forward in my behalf. The gentlemen who have sworn against me must have mistook me for some other person (there being *many sailors in the mob*); but I freely forgive them, and I hope God will also forgive them, for I solemnly declare that I committed no act of violence whatever."

I will not say, that these words will make any impression on *your* hearts; but, do you find here; do you find in the cause which led this poor and penniless man to commit "criminal excesses" any proof, or the semblance of proof, that the riot was produced by the doctrines or actions of Reformers? And yet this was the only

man, to whom a capital offence could be traced. Was it the Parliamentary Reformers, who caused this poor and friendless creature to "pass whole days without even a morsel of bread?" Was it the Reformers, who sent him to sea "all his life?" Was it the Reformers from whom he had "endeavoured to recover his pay and prize-money without success?" Then how do you "trace" his rioting and his "criminal excesses" to those Reformers, whom you most basely designate as *designing* and "evil-minded men" and to whom you assert, that you can trace the "criminal excesses which lately disgraced the Metropolis?"

The truth is, that, at the time of the riot, there were hundreds of starving sailors in the Metropolis, and, I believe, I might say, thousands. A person, whom I will not name, having, at that time, frequent occasion to go over Westminster Bridge, and in company with whom I myself was, used to give a shilling or two to each groupe of these miserable men, who were stationed in the recesses of that Bridge; and, never, while I have memory, shall I forget the emotions created in them by these trifling largesses. Upon one occasion a young man of about 28 years of age, who said he had been in the battle of Trafalgar, who had no shirt, shoe, stockings or hat, who would have been handsome if his long beard had been taken off, and if decently dressed, upon having an eighteen-penny-piece put into his hand, looked steadfastly in the face of the donor, and then burst into a flood of tears, being utterly unable to speak.

I do not address a narrative like this to *you*; but the public at large in London well know that many, many hundreds of sailors were, at the time alluded to in this miserable, this desperate situation; and, it is also notorious, that the rioters consisted principally of this unhappy class of men. How, then, do you trace this riot to the Reformers, or to any persons whom you designate as "designing and evil-minded men?" Was it the Reformers who

placed the sailors in this situation? Was it the Reformers, then, who produced the riot? No; and you well know the fact, that the rioters consisted of a parcel of these starving sailors and of persons who had been at the hanging of four men, joined by a party of Spenceans, who *disagreed* with the Reformers, and who had marched from Spa-fields before Mr. HUNT came into London, for he, as he can prove, actually met the rioters in Cheapside as he was coming from Wanstead, and as they were proceeding towards the Mansion House. They called upon him to go with them, telling him that all the people were gone from Spa-fields. "No;" said Mr. Hunt, "I shall go to the meeting, I have nothing to do with rioters." And what did he do at Spa-fields? Why, the very first resolution that he proposed, was, that *that man was the greatest enemy of Reform who should be guilty of violence of any sort.*

Now, then, again I ask you, how do you trace that riot to the Reformers? And, upon what ground do you utter your insinuations of disloyalty and treason against them? But still more audacious is your assertion, that you can trace the attack on the Regent to the Reformers. Has any Reformer been apprehended for that offence? Can you trace the man, who has been *taken up* (for that is all) to any connection with any man distinguished amongst the Reformers? There was a large number of Reformers in London on that day. Mr. Hunt, *Hunt the Great*, (for I foretold that the stupid malice of the corrupt would make him a "*great man*") was in London on that day; nay, he was even in Westminster on that day; but how was he, and how were the Reformers employed? Not in any of the scenes in the Park; not in attacking or insulting the Regent; but in carrying their Petitions to Lord Cochrane's house in Palace-Yard, and in seeing the first of those Petitions carried into the House of Commons. How, then, ask for the tenth time, do you sup-

port your calumnious assertions and imputations against the Reformers?

Is it the *writings* of Reformers that you are pleased to have in view? If so, I will not be guilty of the false modesty of supposing, that my little Work has not the honour to come in for a large portion of your enmity. But, point me out, then, if you can, even with the assistance of the Devil, with a "learned friend" for prompter, one single essay or article of mine, which is calculated to incite the people to acts of violence of any sort. On the contrary, they have all a tendency, a direct, clear and powerful tendency, to *prevent* acts of outrage on farmers, tradesmen, and every other class of persons of property; and this is so notorious, that it has been frequently the practice of people of property in large manufacturing towns to purchase these essays, and to give them away amongst their workmen.

And as to the Prince Regent, or any part of the Royal Family, what a shame it is to insinuate that I have ever endeavoured to excite the hatred of the people against them! On the contrary, I have avoided, as much as possible, every thing having such a tendency. If, indeed, the Whig Faction and the Morning Chronicle had been accused of this, there might have been a good deal to countenance the charge; for out of every ten numbers of that paper, for years past, eight at least, have contained little or much aimed personally at the Prince Regent, or some one or more of his Family. All his expences; his studs of horses; the decorations of his apartments; the changes in the furniture of his houses; the alterations in his buildings; the projects about new streets; the carrying of kitchen utensils from Carlton House to Brighton: in short, every little thing that could, by means however dirty, be fished out, relative to his Royal Highness, or any of his attendants, or associates, or friends, has been put forward by this paper and swelled out to as great a bulk as possible. And, after all this, the proprietor of this scurrilous and factious

paper, bursts out into extraordinary effusions of loyalty; talks in big words about the "sacred person of the Regent;" and, at the same time, joins in your insinuations! If this be not baseness, I should be glad to know what the word baseness really means. But, at any rate, if any of you can find in my little work, one single essay the fair construction of which can be called an incitement to hate or condemn the Prince Regent, or the Royal Office and Authority, I will be content, not only to be called "*a designing and evil minded man*," but I will confess myself to be a traitor, and consent to suffer all the pains and penalties of the law accordingly.

Where, then, are the grounds upon which you so impudently prefer these charges against us? Is not the Country already in a state of distraction great enough, without your endeavours to excite such powerful feelings of resentment and eternal ill-will amongst such numerous classes of the people?

But, though you cannot trace any of the lamentable occurrences, of which you speak, to the writings, the speeches, or the actions of the Reformers; and though you *will not* attempt to trace them to their true cause; I shall not, my good Life-and-Fortune-Men, be so shy upon the subject; and therefore, I shall here treat you with my **DECLARATION**, which I beg you to receive, as an appropriate answer to your own.

DECLARATION.

Whereas, certain Bankers, Stock-Jobbers, and others, of the City of London, have recently met, at a Tavern, in the said City; and whereas, being so met, they then and there issued a certain Declaration, in which they falsely and calumniously ascribed the divers riots which have taken place in the several parts of the kingdom to the proceedings of the Parliamentary Reformers, whom they impudently call "*designing and evil-minded men*;" and, whereas, it is expedient that the said Riots should be traced to their true causes, and as I think myself able to do this with great sim-

plicity, I, William Cobbett, with a view of doing this, do hereby declare, **FIRST**, that it is a notorious truth, that the Riots in the County of Suffolk, in the Isle of Ely, in the principality of Wales, at Dundee in Scotland, and in the City of London, have all been carried on, and perpetrated, by persons in great want and misery; that the manifest object, in all these cases, (and no riots have taken place any where else) has been to obtain food by the means of violent proceedings; for, though threshing machines were destroyed in Suffolk; though the people in the Isle of Ely demanded a rise of wages; though the people in Wales demanded employment; though the people of Dundee complained of the high price of oatmeal; though the sailors in London broke open gunsmiths' shops, in a very unlawful and unjustifiable manner; and though the conduct of all the parties, in all these cases, cannot by any means be defended; still, the fact notoriously is, that all these riots and criminal excesses have had for their immediate cause a greater or less proportion of that terrible and unexampled distress, which now pervades every part of the kingdom, and which, while it astounds the minds of the wise, and melts the hearts of the humane, can never be mitigated, but must be augmented, by every attempt, whether arising from folly or knavery, to disguise its real and all-powerful cause.

SECOND, That the more immediate causes of this distress and this misery, are, a want of employment, and an incapacity to afford a sufficiency of relief to the unemployed Part of the Labouring People, who, necessarily, have no capital or stock whereon to live.

THIRD, That these evils have arisen, not from "*a sudden transition from war to peace*," but, from a deep-rooted cause of calamity, namely, a system of fictitious currency, which, by its *sudden transitions* from high to low, and then again from low to

high, has raised, in many instances, has broken down in more instances, and has crippled in all instances, the land-owner, the farmer, the master tradesman, the ship-owner, the master-manufacturer, and all those engaged in the employment, or protection, of productive labour.

FOURTH, That these *sudden transitions* have arisen from the vast quantity of Paper-Money issued by the Bank of England some years ago, and by her nurselings, the Country Banks; and that that immense issue of Paper-Money, which at once brought down prices, and raised up taxes and salaries, was owing to the stoppage of Cash Payments at the Bank of England, in the year 1797; and which stoppage arose, as the Records of Parliament inform us, out of an APPLICATION MADE BY THE THEN GOVERNOR AND DIRECTORS OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND TO THE MINISTER OF THAT DAY.

FIFTH, That, amongst the Governor and Directors of the Bank of England of that day, *I find the names of several of the signers of the above-mentioned Declaration, at the London Tavern*; and that, therefore, I am clearly of opinion that I have logically "*traced*" the late "*criminal excesses*" to those worthy gentlemen themselves.

This is declaration for declaration, and I am not at all afraid to submit them, side by side, to the common sense of mankind. But, my worthy *Declarers*, I am not going to stop here. It is now very nearly *fourteen* years since I stood alone, and for thirteen years I stood alone, in declaring it to be my fixed opinion that the total ruin of the country, that the upsetting of all property, that the miseries of slavery, or the miseries of confusion, must ultimately ensue, at no very distant period, if a stop were not put to the increase of the debt and the paper-money. This period is not yet arrived indeed; but it will require very great wisdom, and very resolute

measures with regard to the debt and the expenditure in general, to prevent its arriving.

I now hear gentlemen and noblemen enough in the Two Houses of Parliament ready enough to adopt and to utter many of my sentiments on this subject, which sentiments were, for many, many years, held in derision by some, and considered as criminal by others. I have heard My Lord Grey now say, that *the taxes which were imposed in one currency, are now collected in another currency*; and his Lordship might have added, and, perhaps did add, though it is not in the report of his speech, that the same remark extended to rents, tythes by composition, lease-holds, ground-rents, annuities, bonds, mortgages, marriage-settlements, and all the other transactions between man and man; and, surely, if the taxes were *imposed in one currency, and are now collected in another currency*, all that large part of the *debt* which has been borrowed since the year 1797 was *lent in one currency, and ought not to be paid in another currency*.

And now, Gentlemen of the Life-and-Fortune Class, when you have had time well to digest this little pill, when you have taken time to ruminate upon the effect of this answer to your Declaration, and to consider whether it might not as well have been left alone, let me beseech your attention, if your wits are not too much bewildered, while I recur a little to those opinions and predictions of mine which were put in print nearly fourteen years ago.

At that time a new war had just been begun against France; the minister, Mr. Addington, had brought forward his scheme of finance. Upon that occasion, and under the date of the eleventh of June, 1803, I addressed a letter to Mr. Addington, the objects of which were, first, to show that the *Sinking Fund was a delusion*; next to congratulate Mr. Addington upon the taxes which he had just then laid upon the funds; and, third, to show that what I was called a National

Bankruptcy would be no evil, but a very great good; and the words were as follow:—

“The *Sinking Fund* is, it seems to be kept up in all its glory, and *no addition whatever* is to be made to the Public Debt, during the war, be its duration ever so protracted! How is this to be, Sir? You estimate (much below what will be found necessary) the annual supplies for the war at 26,000,000*l.* All this, say you, is to come out of the taxes raised during the year, except about 6,000,000*l.* which is to be obtained by a loan annually made to that amount; but, as the debt annually created by these loans, will be no greater in amount than the part of the Public Debt bought up annually by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, the loans will make no addition to the Debt! It is, I think, impossible that you should not perceive the fallacy of this statement. What becomes of the part of the Public Debt bought up by the Commissioners? What, Sir, becomes of the stock so bought up? Why, it is carried to the account of the nation; it becomes the property of the nation; the nation annually receives the dividends on it, but it first raises the money to pay those dividends. And what becomes of the dividends, after the nation has thus received them from itself? Why they are disposed of in the buying up of more stock, in order that the nation may have an increase of dividends, which, like the former, are to be paid by itself to itself; and thus the delusive whirligig goes on, but without ever lessening the Public Debt in the amount of one single penny.— If indeed, the stock bought up by the Commissioners were destroyed; if when so bought up, it instantly ceased to exist, as nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of the people imagine it does, then your statement would be fair; but while it is in existence, and while the people have regularly to pay taxes to discharge the dividends on it, where is the difference whether the said stock be called the property of indi-

viduals or the property of the nation? where is the difference, as to the 6,000,000*l.* to be annually borrowed, whether the interest of it be paid to individuals or to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund? So that it must be paid by the people, where is the difference to them whether it be paid on the right hand or on the left?—Another question brings your statement to the test. You say there will be no increase to the debt during the war, because stock, equal in amount to that which is created by the annual loan of 6,000,000*l.* will be annually bought up by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund. Now, then, Sir, if this be really so, why not take the produce of the Sinking Fund, during the war, and appropriate it to the public use, instead of a loan to the same amount? Would not this be much more simple and satisfactory than the round-about operation of first making a loan 6,000,000*l.* with all the Jewish cant of biddings and bonuses and premiums and discounts, and, after having borrowed the money, paying it to the Commissioners, in the shape of an annual grant of 1,200,000*l.* dividends on stock purchased up, and an annual one per centum, on capitals created since 1793? If your Sinking Fund yields you 6,000,000*l.* annually, why not take this 6,000,000*l.* for public use, instead of first borrowing a like sum, and then paying that like sum off with the 6,000,000*l.* produced by the Sinking Fund? Oh no! that would alarm people; that would shake public credit. This then is the touch-stone of the system: to continue the operation of the Sinking Fund we must go on paying interest on all the stock bought up, and to be bought up, by the Commissioners; if, therefore, this continuation be absolutely necessary to the preservation of public credit, that credit must be destroyed, unless we continue to pay, as we now do, interest on all the stock that ever was created. When and how, then, is the debt to experience that diminution, with which, Sir, you thought proper to

" amuse the tame and stupid crowd,
 " who were listening to you from the
 " galleries? No, no, Sir; it is not in
 " this Sinking Fund; it is not in this
 " system of paying taxes in order to
 " purchase stock for ourselves, and then
 " to raise other taxes in order to pay
 " the interest of that stock to ourselves;
 " it is not in this shifting from one
 " pocket to the other; it is not in a set
 " of legerdemain tricks worthy of Bar-
 " tholomew Fair; it is not here that
 " we are to look for relief, but it is
 " in your *tax upon the funds*, or, in
 " other words, in that admirable *sponge*
 " which you are now about to apply
 " to *one twentieth part of the debt*.
 " This, as Sir Walter Raleigh said,
 " when he was approaching the City
 " of St. Thomas, 'this is the true mine,
 " my lads, and he's a fool that expects
 " 'to find riches from any other!'
 " This, to use your own words, applied
 " to the Sinking Fund, 'this is, an
 " operation which carries with it the
 " singular advantage of *executing its*
 " *purposes for our relief in proportion*
 " *to our pressure*;' for the more ex-
 " pensive the war, the heavier, of
 " course, will be the tax upon the
 " Funds; and as all that part
 " which becomes tax will no longer
 " be debt, our relief will, as you truly
 " observe, be expedited by our pres-
 " sure! But, say the wiseacres of the
 " City, there is none of the debt *spong-*
 " *ed off* by this tax, which, however
 " heavy it may become, will take only
 " the *interest*, leaving the *principal* to-
 " tally untouched; to which sapient
 " observation you will, doubtless,
 " reply, that, if they will but let you
 " take the interest, they are perfectly
 " welcome to do what they please
 " with the principal. In short, Sir,
 " that man must be afflicted with in-
 " sanity or judicial blindness, who
 " does not perceive, that to impose a
 " direct tax of 5 per cent. upon the
 " Funds is to wash away a twentieth
 " part of the debt, which consists of
 " those funds. You have, by calling
 " this an *income tax*, a *tax on property*,
 " &c. &c. succeeded in producing a
 " confusion of ideas in the minds of
 " the people, who viewing the mat-

" ter in the light in which you have
 " placed it, seem to forget that the
 " tax on income and property is drawn
 " from something which the party al-
 " ready has in his possession, whereas
 " the tax on the Funds is, in fact, a
 " *a portion of a debt due to him*, but
 " which he has not received, and
 " of which debt the State is now about
 " to pay him *nineteen shillings in the*
 " *pound*. And very good payment it
 " is. It were to be wished, that every
 " Bankrupt would pay *nineteen shil-*
 " *lings in the pound*, and, if you
 " should not make that rate good upon
 " the principal, you have shewn the
 " honesty of your intention, by mak-
 " ing it good upon the interest. The
 " truth is, Sir, and, if you have com-
 " mon sense, it is a truth that you must
 " perceive---that the National Debt has
 " arrived at that point, beyond which
 " it cannot go, and, that terrific bug-
 " bear, a *National Bankruptcy*, the
 " fear of seeing which has made this
 " country submit to every species of
 " wrong and of disgrace, is now ac-
 " tually making its appearance, unac-
 " companied with any of the dreadful
 " effects, which base and interested
 " men have endeavoured to persuade
 " us it would inevitably produce.
 " This measure of taxing the funds,
 " alias paying nineteen shillings in the
 " pound on the interest, this year, in
 " order to pave the way for the total,
 " and the only practicable, extinction
 " of the public debt, has my unquali-
 " fied applause; because, I am fully
 " persuaded, that either that debt, or
 " the independence of this nation,
 " must be speedily destroyed. A
 " small public debt is no harm to any
 " country, nor, merely in a *pecuniary*
 " point of view, is a large one, or
 " even an enormous one, any harm;
 " but, not so in its *political* effects:
 " there a great public debt is a tre-
 " mendous evil. This distinction,
 " which has, within the last ten years,
 " been so fatally illustrated in
 " England, has, however, been too
 " little attended to. Mr. Pitt saw
 " the navigation, the commerce, the
 " manufactures, all increase as the
 " debt increased; the land became,

" year by year, better cultivated, the
 " houses, the roads, the carriages, the
 " clothing and food of the people, all
 " grew finer and better; but, he did
 " not perceive, that the wealth of the
 " country, while it was, in conse-
 " quence of having assumed a move-
 " able quality, extending the com-
 " mercial means and multiplying the
 " comforts and elegancies of life, was,
 " at the same time, from the same
 " cause, and in the same degree, pro-
 " ducing political decay.—Such, how-
 " ever, is now the fact; and, the only
 " objection I have to your statement,
 " is, the miserable delusion which
 " you still attempt to keep up, and
 " which, if your attempt succeed, can
 " be attended with no possible good,
 " while it may do infinite mischief.
 " Proceeding upon the maxim of Mr.
 " Pitt, you represent our public debt
 " as '*the best ally of the enemy*;' and,
 " therefore, say you, we will let the
 " enemy see—What? Not that we are
 " about to crush and annihilate this,
 " his '*best ally*,' but that we are going
 " to raise the taxes within the year, in
 " order to refrain from adding any
 " more strength to this ally. But, Sir,
 " I am happy to perceive, that, while
 " you are talking of this foolish plan,
 " while you really think you have
 " adopted it, you are actually pro-
 " ceeding upon a wise one; that, while
 " you think you are propping up the
 " funds, you are, in truth, undermin-
 " ing their foundation.—Shall I be
 " told, that I am here expressing a
 " wish to see the *credit* of my country
 " destroyed? Very like I may, but,
 " Sir, far different are my wishes. I
 " wish to see its true credit restored,
 " by the annihilation of its false
 " credit; I wish to see honourable
 " sentiments succeed to selfishness
 " and cowardice; and, if I am told of
 " the miseries that this measure will
 " bring upon those who are so unfor-
 " tunate as to be stockholders, I deny
 " that they will be a hundredth part
 " so great as is generally imagined;
 " because as the extinction will not
 " be effected all at once, people will
 " sell out, in proportion as their ap-
 " prehensions increase, and as those

" who have nothing but the funds to
 " depend upon will be most timid,
 " they will sell first: so that at the
 " 'close of the *market*,' a market
 " which, I trust, will never again be
 " opened, the loss will be found to be
 " pretty fairly distributed. Be the
 " miseries, however, arising from this
 " source, what they may, they cer-
 " tainly are inevitable; for, if the
 " debt be not, somehow or other
 " annihilated, the nation must be en-
 " slaved, and then the annihilation
 " comes of course."

This was written nearly fourteen
 years ago.—Numerous have been the
 Essays, written between that time and
 this, to prove, that the Funding Sys-
 tem, if not put an end to in time,
 would produce the ruin of the coun-
 try. Now all the world acknow-
 ledges this great truth. Every man,
 who has only common sense, now sees
 that the Funding System has pro-
 duced all the mischief. To it we owe
 all our calamities. This is now evi-
 dent to the nation at large; and, in
 my work of *Paper against Gold*, I
 have proved, step by step, not only
 that the Funding System has been the
 cause of our calamities; but I have
 also proved that, from its very nature,
 it must be the cause of such calami-
 ties. All our troubles would vanish
 in a moment, if this system were at an
 end. The Ministers themselves would
 gladly get rid of their *standing army*;
 for, what is the use, or pretended use,
 of this army at home, in time of pro-
 found peace? Why, it is said, to
 preserve the tranquillity of the coun-
 try. And what disturbs the country?
 Why, the miseries of the people.
 And what makes the people misera-
 ble? Why, the great weight of taxes
 and the fluctuations in the Currency.
 And what makes the great weight of
 taxes and the fluctuations in the Cur-
 rency? Why, the Debt and the
 Paper-money. And what makes the
 Debt and the Paper-money? Why,
 the *Funding System*. Thus it is to
 this system, that we owe the standing
 army and every evil that oppresses
 us; the whole of that combination of
 evils, which now astounds even me

who have been anticipating those evils for many years.

Reformers, indeed! It is not *Reformers*, men, generally speaking, without riches, who can thus agitate society, and shake a great state to its very foundations. It must be something far more powerful than *speeches and writings* to produce effects like these. Besides, Reformers have been at work for forty years, and they once had Mr. PITT and the DUKE OF RICHMOND at their head. No: it is the *Debt*, the *Funding System*; these are the causes of all the dangers, which the ancient establishments of the Country now feel. The *Church* complains of an *intended law*, levelled against it. The Clergy are called upon, in the *St. James's Chronicle*, to meet in the Deaneries all over the kingdom; to hold *adjourned meetings*; and to protest against the *intended law*. And, meet they will too, and not one moment too soon. What has produced this intended measure against their property? Why, the sufferings of the farmers; and, as was before shown, these sufferings have arisen from the *Funding System*.

What folly, as well as what impudence, then, is it, to cry out against *Reformers*! As if they could add to, or lessen, the great dangers which hang over the state. There is a *green bag* full of papers, it is said laid before Parliament, proving the existence of plots against the "*whole frame and laws of the Constitution*." So says the *COURIER*, who appears to have had his nose in the bag, even before it was carried down. There may be, for any thing that I know to the contrary, some wild projects on foot for altering the frame of the government; but, I am very sure, that they are all vanity and nothingness, when compared with the *Funding System*; and, if a clear statement relative to the Debt and the Taxes and the effects of these had been put into the *Green Bag*, and had been strongly recommended to the attention of the two Houses, it would, it appears to me, have been much more likely to

tend to the preservation of tranquillity than any other step that could have been taken.

Put down *Meetings* indeed! Alas! if such a measure, painful as it is to one's feelings as an Englishman, could possibly tend to restore the nation to happiness, or to lessen its unparalleled miseries, I would hail it as a boon; for, now the suffering is too dreadful to be thought of without deep mental affliction. You affect to "*trace*" all appearances of *discontent* to the *Reformers*. It is true, that you feel no misery; but, is there none any where else? A few plain facts will suffice; and they now lie before me in print.

"The poor house at Bilston is so full of occupants that there is not room for them all to sleep at the same time; but an equal number of them retire to rest in rotation."

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of Wilton, held on Monday last for the purpose of considering of some mode of alleviating the distresses of the town, which were occasioned by the increase of its poor-rates, it was ordered that the poor should be employed by sending them in rotation to the different householders, in proportion to what they were rated at. This mode of employment is called, by labourers in husbandry, '*working on the stem*.'"

In the City of Coventry, on a population of about 20,000 there are more than 8,000 *paupers*.

In some parishes, the poor men are lodged and kept separately from their wives.

But as an authentic and ever-to-be-remembered statement of shocking facts, and as an incontrovertible proof of the awful consequences of a *Funding System*, I insert the following paper, word for word:

"*Condensed Statement of the Poor of St. Mary, Islington; as prepared by the Committee appointed for that purpose, Jan. 31, 1817.*"

"From Examination of the different District Reports, it was found, that
 " 730 Poor Families, consisting of
 " 1371 Adults,
 " 1712 Children, comprising a total of
 " 3083 Individuals, had been visited, a large portion of whom required, and had received relief.

"It also appeared, that there were totally

"out of employ about 300 persons, who were
 "not only out of employ, but almost naked,
 "without a bed to lie upon, and WITHOUT
 "A PENNY TO PURCHASE BREAD.

"In addition to those totally out of em-
 "ploy, the Cases of many who are only par-
 "tially employed are numerous and very dis-
 "tressing, some of them earning only a few
 "shillings a week, with six or eight helpless
 "children.

"There are 93 families that have from five
 "to nine children.

"There are also 181 families that receive
 "Parochial relief, the total amounting to
 "21l 15s 6d per week. This does not in-
 "clude the casual relief given by the Parish
 "officers, nor what is distributed by the
 "different benevolent funds in the Parish.

"To assist in ascertaining the distress of
 "the Parish, enquiry was made into the
 "amount of Goods pledged, and it was found
 "that in the

"1st District, 120 families,

"the amount was £.209 3 0

"2d District, 44 families 39 9 0

"3d District, 78 families 27 0 0

"4th District, 220 families . . 400 0 0

"5th District, 138 families . . 291 13 6

"To ascertain exactly the amount of goods
 "pledged has been found impossible, but
 "considering that three-fourths of the 4th
 "District remain unreported in this parti-
 "cular, and one-fourth amounts to 400l there
 "is no doubt of the amount being at least
 "1500l. in the whole Parish, comprising
 "pledges for various sums, from THREE
 "HALFPENCE to 20l. The article here
 "alluded to, was the property of a poor but
 "respectable widow, who travelled nearly three
 "miles, from the extremity of the parish
 "where she resided, TO PROCURE THREE
 "HALFPENCE UPON IT!!

"The Committee intended to have given
 "some particular Cases of distress, to convey
 "to the Parish some idea of their nature and
 "extent, and of the NECESSITY FOR
 "FARTHER CONTRIBUTION; but they
 "have found the Cases of extreme poverty
 "and privation SO NUMEROUS, that they
 "must confine themselves to a general repre-
 "sentation of facts, and in doing this, for
 "reasons which will be sufficiently obvious,
 "they will avoid the mention of any parti-
 "cular names.

"The Committee have met with unfortu-
 "nate Tradesmen of irreproachable charac-
 "ter, sinking, and pining, in secret, with nu-
 "merous young children, as 5 to 7, the Wife
 "ready to lie in, the Husband in ill health,
 "rent and many little debts owing, without
 "any means to pay them. Other Families
 "where the Husband is nearly 70 years of
 "age, the Wife ill in bed, a Child or two to
 "maintain, and the whole earnings not ex-
 "ceeding 7s. a week. Others, where they
 "have, by distress, been obliged to pawn
 "almost every necessary, to provide in the
 "interim a little sustenance, who are willing
 "to work, but can find no employment; and
 "some Families have been found, where the

"poor people, with hardly any thing to cover
 "their nakedness, have not even a bed of
 "the poorest kind, but lie upon straw or
 "shavings, all their little earnings being un-
 "equal to the cravings of hunger.

"Among these are many people who have
 "seen better days, and have endeavoured by
 "every means to avoid becoming burthensome
 "to their Parish or their Neighbours, and
 "who, it is to be feared would have actually
 "perished, but for the investigation to which
 "the present Institution has given rise.

"Some of these Cases, with a little pecu-
 "niary aid, might be enabled again to be-
 "come useful members of the community;
 "but such is the extent of the present dis-
 "tress, that the first object should be to
 "meet those Cases of distress, under which,
 "without relief, the sufferers are in danger of
 "perishing. The liberality of the Parish
 "will it is hoped, effect this; and if, in ad-
 "dition, some relief of the kind hinted above
 "could be extended afterwards to DECAY-

"ED AND UNFORTUNATE TRADES-
 "MEN, who by a little pecuniary aid could
 "be restored to usefulness, the benefit would
 "be incalculable."

(By Order.)

R. OLDERSHAW, Jun.

AND

N. THOMPSON, Jun.

} Secretaries.

And yet (Oh! impudence!) the Re-
 formers are accused of *exaggerating*
 the distresses of the country, and the
 COURIER abuses Lord Grey for dwel-
 ling on the public distress, as being
 the real cause of the prevailing dis-
 contents! Alas! my good Life-and-
 Fortune-men, it is not *your* lives and
 fortunes that have been sacrificed.
 You pledged *your* lives and fortunes
 to carry on wars and make loans; but,
 it is not *your* lives and fortunes that
 have been in danger.

Alas! what can Green Bags, or the
 result of the opening of their contents;
 what can these do towards the resto-
 ration of happiness to the people?
 If all meetings, all petitioning, all
 writing, all printing, all speaking, all
 whispering, were instantly put a stop
 to, not one single moment would that
 measure retard that steady march
 which great causes are now keeping
 on towards great and inevitable con-
 sequences. This march might, in my
 opinion, be checked, by a radical
 Reform in the Commons' House of
 Parliament; but without that Reform,
 my decided opinion is, that it cannot.

You seem to imagine, that the

people are wholly ignorant of the real source of their calamity. Read, then, the following paragraph in the Resolutions that preceded an excellent Petition just agreed to in the *City of Coventry*.

"That whilst the holders of every article, purchased or manufactured when *bank notes were depreciated*, have been compelled to reduce their price to the standard of *sterling money*; whilst every individual charged with debts contracted at the same period, has been also obliged to pay their full nominal amount in sterling money, thus sustaining a loss equivalent to the difference of the real value of the currency, at the respective periods: The distress, consequent upon this natural operation of causes, over which the sufferers had no control, is considerably increased, by their being still called upon to pay in taxes, their share of the full interest of the debt (called national) contracted by the Government, principally in the depreciated currency."

Thus, you see, the matter is understood by the people at large. They can "trace" as well, and a little better, than you can, or, at least, than you choose to do it; and, though the members of the two Houses have not yet spoken out, you may be sure that they will do it before they separate. You seem to imagine, that the leading men amongst the Reformers wish to carry their views into execution by assault. They must be great fools if they do, seeing what an evident tendency there is in all the circumstances of the times, to assist their views more and more every day. It is right to petition for Reform; it is right to endeavour to obtain it by all lawful means; it is right to bring forward the measure in a fair and distinct form. But, it is wholly unnecessary to be impatient, seeing that it must come at no very distant day, and that, too, with very little opposition. Whatever may be your hopes, this agitation about the Reformers and the Spenceans will not last many weeks. It is not

the Green Bag but the *Budget*, which will soon become the interesting object, and we shall see, before this Session of Parliament is over, whether the Political Economy of Mr. Colquhoun, the Police Justice, or mine be the most sound and rational.

When you have taken time to cogitate on all this, to look back and to look forward, I beg your attention to the two Petitions here following, which have been laid before the House of Commons, and to the Letter of Mr. HUNT, which has been received by Lord Sidmouth, "*Fair Play is a Jewel*," you know, every where, except in 'Change Alley.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament Assembled.

The Petition of Thomas Dugood, of the Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, in the City of Westminster,

Humbly Sheweth,

That your Petitioner is a parentless and friendless boy, seventeen years of age, who, until lately seized by two Police Officers and sent to prison by the Police, obtained the honest means of living by the sale of Religious and Moral Tracts, which he used to purchase of Mr. Collins of Paternoster Row.

That your Petitioner has, for more than four months last past, lodged, and he still lodges, at the house of Keeran Shields, who lives at No. 13, Gee's Court, Oxford Street, and who is a carter to Mr. White of Mortimar-street, and who is also a Watchman in Marybone Parish.

That your Petitioner has never in his life lived as a vagrant, but has always had a settled home, has always pursued an honest and visible means of getting his living, has always been, and is ready to prove that he always has been an industrious, a peaceable, sober, honest and orderly person.

That, on the tenth of January 1817, your Petitioner, for having pulled down a Posting Bill, entitled "*Mr. Hunt hissed out of the City of Bristol*," was committed by Mr. Sellon to the New Prison, Clerkenwell, where he was kept on bread and water and compelled to lie on the bare boards until the twenty-second of the same month, when he was tied, with about fifty others, to a long rope, or cable, and marched to Hicks's Hall, and there let loose.

That your Petitioner has often heard it said, that the law affords protection to the poor as well as to the rich, and that, if unable to obtain redress any where else, every subject of His Majesty has the road of petition open to him; Therefore your Petitioner, being unable to obtain redress in any other manner for the grievous wrongs done him by

the Magistrate of the Police, most humbly implores your Honourable House to afford him protection and redress, and to that end he prays your Honourable House to permit him to prove at the bar of your Honourable House all and several the allegations contained in this his most humble Petition.

And your Petitioner will ever pray.

THOMAS BUGOOD.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of Henry Hunt, of Middleton Cottage, in the County of Southampton,

Humbly sheweth,

That your petitioner, being ready to prove at the bar of your honourable House, that there has been carried on a conspiracy against his character, and eventually aimed at his life, by certain persons, receiving salaries out of the public money, and acting in their public capacity, and expending for this vile purpose, a portion of the taxes; and there being as appears to him, no mode of his obtaining a chance of security, other than those which may be afforded him by Parliament, he humbly sues to your honourable House to yield him your protection.

That your petitioner has always been a loyal and faithful subject, and a sincere and zealous friend of his country. That, at a time, during the first war against France, when there were great apprehensions of invasion, and when circular letters were sent round to farmers and others to ascertain what sort and degree of aid each would be willing to afford to the government in case of such emergency, your petitioner, who was then a farmer in Wiltshire, did not, as others did, make an offer of a small part of his moveable property, but that, really believing his country to be in danger, he, in a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Pembroke, freely offered his all, consisting of several thousands of sheep, a large stock of horned cattle, upwards of twenty horses, seven or eight waggons and carts, with able and active drivers, several hundreds of quarters of corn and grain, and his own person besides, all to be at the entire disposal of the Lord Lieutenant; and this your petitioner did without any reserved claim to compensation, it being a principle deeply rooted in his heart, that all property and even life itself, ought to be considered as nothing when put in competition with the safety and honour of our country. And your petitioner further begs leave to state to your honourable House, that, at a subsequent period, namely, in the year 1803, when an invasion of the country was again apprehended, and when it was proposed to call out volunteers to serve within certain limits of their houses, your petitioner called around him the people of the village of Euford,

in which he lived, and that all the men in that parish (with the exception of three) capable of bearing arms, amounting to more than two hundred in number, immediately enrolled themselves, and offered to serve, not only within the district, but in any part of the kingdom, where an enemy might land, or be expected to land, and this offer was by your petitioner transmitted to Lord Pembroke, who expressed to your petitioner his great satisfaction at the said offer, and informed him that he would make a point of communicating the same to his Majesty's Ministers..

That your petitioner, still actuated by a sincere desire to see his country free and happy, and holding a high character in the world, has lately been using his humble endeavours to assist peaceably and legally in promoting applications to Parliament for a Reform in your honourable House, that measure appearing to your petitioner to be the only effectual remedy for the great and notorious evils, under which the country now groans, and for which evils, as no one attempts to deny their existence, so no one, as far as your petitioner has heard, has attempted to suggest any other remedy.

That your petitioner, in pursuit of this constitutional, and, as he hopes and believes, laudable object, (an object for which, if need be, he is resolved to risk his life against unlawful violence) lately took part in a public meeting of the City of Bristol, of which he is a freeholder; and that though a large body of regular troops and of yeomanry cavalry were placed in a menacing attitude near the place of our Meeting, the Meeting was conducted and concluded in the most peaceable and orderly manner, and the result of it was a petition to your honourable House, voluntarily signed by upwards of twenty thousand men, which petition has been presented to, and received by, your honourable House.

That your petitioner, who had met with every demonstration of public good-will and approbation in the said City, was surprised to see in the public newspapers, an account of a boy having been sent to jail by certain Police Officers and Justices for having pulled down a posting bill, which alleged your petitioner to have been hissed out of the City of Bristol, and containing other gross falsehoods and infamous calumnies on the character of your petitioner, calculated to excite great hatred against your petitioner, and to prepare the way for his ruin and destruction.

That your petitioner who trusts that he has himself always acted an open and manly part, and who has never been so base as to make an attack upon any one, who had not the fair means of defence, feeling indignant at this act of partiality and oppression, came to London with a view of investigating the matter, and this investigation having taken place, he now alleges to your honourable House, that the aforesaid posting bills, con-

taining the infamous calumnies aforesaid, were printed by J. Downes, who is the Printer to the Police; that the Bill-sticker received the bills from the said Downes, who paid him for sticking them up; that the Bill-sticker was told by the said Downes that there would be somebody to watch him to see that he stuck them up; that Police Officers were set to watch to prevent the said Bills from being pulled down; that some of these Bills were carried to the Police Office at Hatton Garden, and there kept by the Officers, to be produced in proof against persons who should be taken up for pulling them down; that Thomas Dugood was seized, sent to jail, kept on bread and water, and made to lie on the bare boards from the tenth to the twenty-second of January, 1817, when he was taken out with about fifty other persons, tied to a long rope or cable, and marched to Hicks's Hall, where he was let loose, and that his only offence was pulling down one of these bills; that a copy of Dugood's commitment was refused to your petitioner; that your petitioner was intentionally directed to a wrong prison to see the boy Dugood; that the Magistrate, William Marmaduke Sellon, who had committed Dugood, denied repeatedly that he knew any thing of the matter, and positively asserted that Dugood had been committed by another magistrate, a Mr. Turton, who Mr. Sellon said, was at his house very ill, and not likely to come to the office for some time.

That your honourable House is besought by your petitioner, to bear in mind the recently-exposed atrocious conspiracies carried on by officers of the Police against the lives of innocent men, and your petitioner is confident that your honourable House will, in these transactions, see the clear proofs of a foul conspiracy against the character and life of your petitioner, carried on by persons in the public employ, appointed by the Crown, and removeable at its pleasure, and that this conspiracy has been also carried on by the means of public money.

And, therefore, as the only mode of doing justice to the petitioner and to the public in a case of such singular atrocity, your petitioner prays your honourable House that he may be permitted to prove (as he is ready to do) all and singular the aforesaid allegations at the Bar of your honourable House, and that if your honourable House shall find the allegations to be true, you will be pleased to address his Royal Highness to cause the aforesaid Magistrate to be dismissed from his office.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray.

London, Feb. 4, 1817.

MY LORD,

Having read in the news-papers, a report of the speech of your Lordship's brother, from which it appears that the complaint, relative to the boy Dugood, was expected to be made at your Lordship's office at an

earlier period, it becomes my duty to inform your Lordship, that the channel of application for redress has not been changed from any want, on my part, of confidence in the humanity and justice of your Lordship. But, my Lord, seeing the malignant and cowardly means that were using, in places I will not particularly name, to misrepresent my views, to blacken my character, and to point me out for destruction, I thought it necessary to proceed in the most prompt manner to make as public as possible the machinations of some of my enemies; and this was the cause, my Lord, of my bringing the matter before Parliament, and not any want of reliance (either on my part or on the part of the other gentleman to whom your Lordship's brother alluded) on the disposition of your Lordship to do me as well as the injured boy ample justice as far as lay in your Lordship's power. Affidavits of all the circumstances were carefully prepared in order to the submitting of the case and leaving it wholly to your Lordship's wisdom and justice: but my Lord, when I saw the press, under various guises, and various names, endeavouring to create an unfounded alarm; by endeavouring to trace to me by the use of the most false and infamous imputations, every act of violence committed by every body, it was time for me to take the most prompt of those small means of defence which I still had in my power.

It has never, my Lord, been my intention to take any step, which should seem to say, that I doubted of the impartiality and integrity of your Lordship, or of any of your colleagues. I scorn, my Lord to be the tool of any faction, and I have no factious or selfish views, and as to the charge of disloyalty, always so ready on the lips of those who are unprovided with fact or with argument, it is a charge which nothing but the rankest of cowardice shall ever shelter from chastisement when openly made against me in any way that puts the accuser upon a legal level with myself. Let the base calumniator come but within the reach of the law, "and, if he 'scape, then God forgive him too!"

I have, my Lord, a petition of my own, which I intend to have presented to the House of Commons to-night. I submit it to the perusal of your Lordship's brother, if your Lordship will be so condescending as to let it be handed to him. When he has read it, I shall feel greatly obliged if he will have the goodness to present it to the House of Commons this evening. If he decline to do it, I will endeavour so cause it to be done through some other channel.

When that has been done, my Lord, I am ready with affidavits to support most amply, every allegation contained in my own Petition, and also in that of the poor and oppressed Boy, Dugood, and shall not only be willing, but shall anxiously desire, that the affair may then be left entirely to the wisdom and the well-known humanity and conciliating disposition of your Lordship.

But, my Lord, while I am thus ready to repose confidence in the integrity and honest views of others; while I manifest no desire, and never have manifested any desire, to carp at the acts of the king's ministers; to pick, as ambitious and selfish men endeavour to do, little holes in their coat; while I am neither so rude nor so malicious as to seem to suspect them of a wish to act partially or unjustly, it would be hard indeed if I were not to be permitted to claim some portion of acknowledged good intentions for myself. 'The most ardent zeal is never accompanied with the utmost degree of circumspection;' but, my Lord, though the former quality may now and then be attended with its inconveniences, the latter can never be attended with any great benefit either to the king or the country. In standing forward, or, rather, in coming forward at the call of my countrymen in distress, I have violated no law; I have used no incentives to riot or to violence of any sort; I have not proposed or given the smallest countenance to, any projects or propositions for "*dividing the land*," or for subverting any establishment or institution: and your Lordship has in your own office, furnished by your own under officers, the *proofs*, that, the man who attempts to impute such acts to me is a vile and cowardly calumniator. I have assisted in the promoting of Petitions for a Reform of the Commons' House of Parliament. This I have done with special care to promote, at the same time, peace, good order, and a respect for the laws. I belong to, and am connected with, no Clubs, no Conciliabules, no secret Associations, of all which I disapprove. What I have done has been done in the face of day, and, while I know my intention to be disinterested and honest, I shall not refrain from resenting, in every way that I am able, and that the law allows of, the conduct of those who impute to me contrary intentions.

I am loath to trespass upon your Lordship's time; but, seeing that the malignity of my and my country's and my king's enemies, has made so obscure an individual so very conspicuous, I hope it will not be regarded as an inexcusable intrusion if I pray your Lordship to look back to the *real source* of all the trouble which has arisen from the oppression of the friendless boy, Dugood. That he was imprisoned and most cruelly treated for pulling down an infamous libel on me, and for *nothing else*, I have affidavits,

ready to be submitted to your Lordship, most amply to prove. That libel was published because I had taken a conspicuous part in a Meeting at Bristol, which Meeting was conducted in the most peaceable and orderly manner, and produced a Petition signed by more than twenty thousand men, which Petition the House of Commons have received. That Petition prayed for a Reform of that House, without even a hint, or any meaning by implication, to meddle with any thing else. And yet, my Lord, a Police Officer, named Limbrick, a common thief-taker, had the audacity, even in the presence of the Magistrates to insinuate that *I was an enemy of my king and country*, and this was all he had to say in his defence for his part of the oppression of the poor Boy; but, audacious as this was, I am sorry to perceive, that the thief-taker has had imitators amongst persons, from whom a very different sort of conduct might have been expected.

As I perceive, that a Report is to be made to the House of Commons of all the circumstances of this case, I beg leave to inform your Lordship, that I shall be ready, any time to morrow, to attend with the affidavits before-mentioned; and I have only to add my humble request, that your Lordship will be pleased to cause this Letter to be laid before the House of Commons at the time of the laying before it that Report.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble

And most obedient Servant,

HENRY HUNT.

These documents all speak for themselves, and require no comments, especially after the manly and able manner in which DUGOOD'S Petition was introduced by Lord FOLKESTONE, and that of Mr. HUNT by Lord COCHRANE.

And now, Life-and-Fortune-Men, I take my leave of you, for the present, and I do this with the less reluctance seeing how soon you will, I am sure, fall into more *able*, or, at least more *powerful* hands; I mean the two Houses of Parliament.

WM. COBBETT.

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